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ABSTRACT

Increased United States involvement in world affairs has been accompanied by an increase in the number of Americans living abroad in numerous American enclaves. Most of the commentary on such "overseas American communities" is impressionistic, superficial, and stereotyped, and tends to foster the notion that Americans are peculiarly ethnocentric. Such an assumption ignores the fact that whenever a fairly large number of persons from one country reside abroad, they tend to cluster into enclaves that provide havens from "culture shock." It is suggested that systematic, objective, and empirical descriptions of such communities could make a valuable contribution to the study of migration, acculturation, and communities in general. To that end, a frame of reference derived from past studies is proposed, both as a generic concept and a subcultural category. Data would be generated that would permit an analysis of the relationship between community characteristics and cross-cultural interaction and attitudes. (Author)

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Toward the Study of Communities of Americans Overseas

by

Harley M. Upchurch

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Prefatory Note

The research reported in this paper was conducted by Division No. 7 (Social Science) of the Human Resources Research Organization, Alexandria, Virginia. The paper presents a proposed theoretical orientation and conceptual framework for analyzing the structure and functioning of communities of Americans abroad. A rough typology of cultural enclaves in general is also suggested.

Preparation of the paper was part of the research activities being conducted under HumRRO Work Unit SOJOURN, Overseas Military Posts and Communities. The objective of the Work Unit is to develop methods for obtaining information relevant to the management, organization, and planning of overseas American military communities.

TOWARD THE STUDY OF COMMUNITIES OF AMERICANS OVERSEAS

Harley M. Upchurch

One of the most dramatic historical developments of this century, from the American point of view at least, has been the enormous increase of the involvement of the United States in international affairs, especially since World War II. One indication of this trend is the number of Americans traveling overseas or taking up residence abroad.

If the deployment of our country's armed forces is used as a yardstick, the following figures are informative. On Armistice Day, 1918, there were about 2,000,000 U.S. troops overseas, nearly all of them in Europe (1, p. 448). In June 1945, there were more than 5,000,000 U.S. military personnel abroad[1]; the largest part of this force was about equally divided between the European and Pacific "theaters of war," but sizable contingents were located in Africa and Latin America as well. Furthermore, by contrast with the period following 1918, the years since World War II have witnessed a continuance of the American military presence all around the globe.

If one takes the foreign travel of civilian Americans as a rough index of our involvement overseas, the curve shown in Figure 1 has remarkable implications. It traces the number of "civilian departures" during each two-year period since 1912. Although such departures declined during the two "great wars" and the depression years, their overall tendency shows a definite increase and the rate at which they have soared since 1945 is truly striking. Between 1950 and 1959, while the U.S. population was growing at an average annual rate of about 2%, departures were increasing at a rate of about 20% each year.[2] This stream of American travelers flowed to all the regions of the earth. In the world of 1965 there were some 125 sovereign nations[3] and the Department of State issued passports to persons planning to visit 64 of them specifically, plus an undetermined number grouped under eight "Other" headings (such as "Other Central America," "Other Oceania" 6, Table 5).

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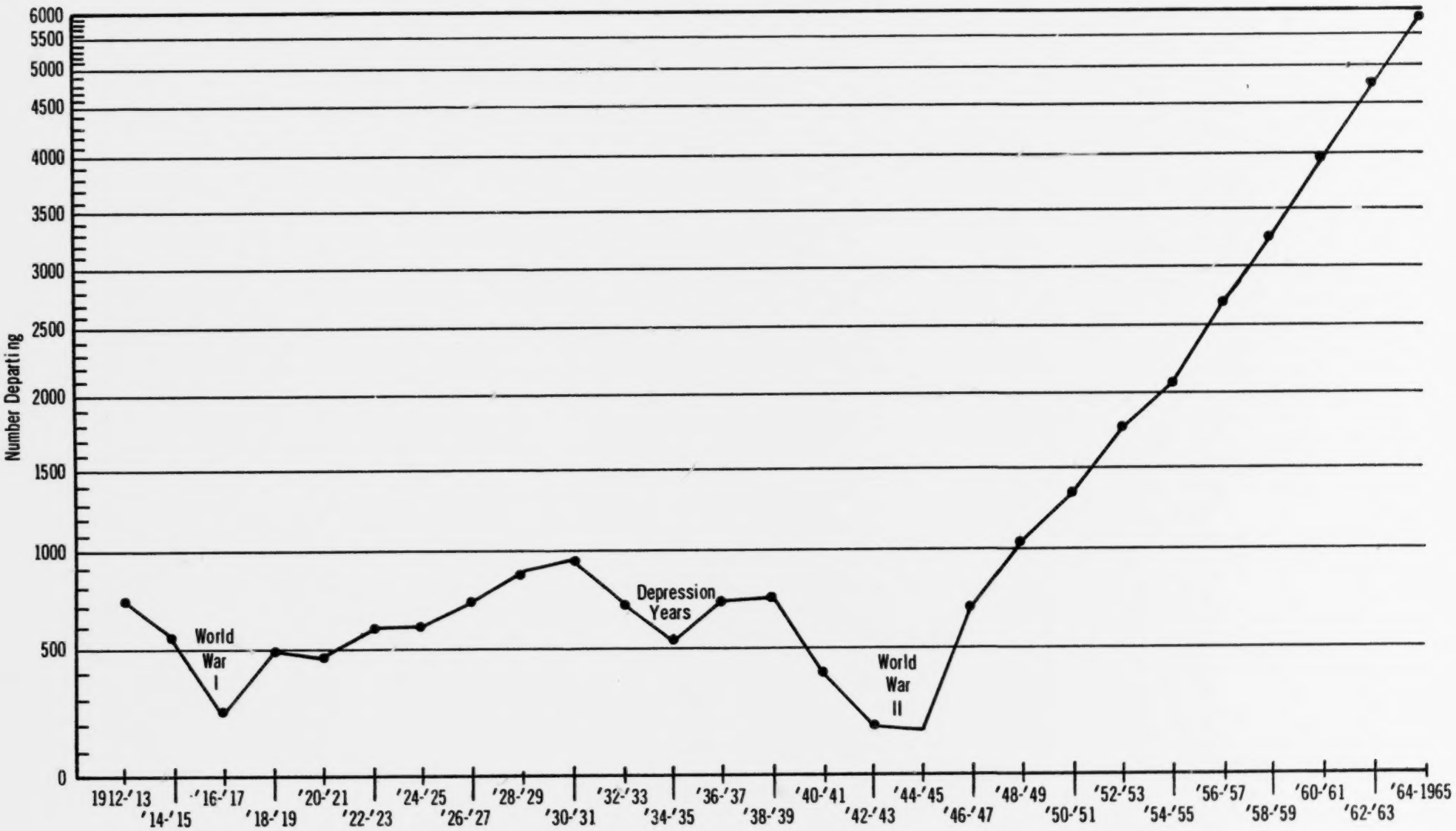
[1]For gross figures on number of troops within and outside the Continental United States, see U.S. War Office, *The Army Almanac*, 1950 (2).

[2]These estimates were computed, respectively, from data in Reference (3) and in *U.S. Census of Population: 1960. General Social and Economic Characteristics* (4).

[3]Depending upon one's source. Ours is Lucy Britt Andrea, *Facts and Figures—About Countries of Our World* (5).

Number of Civilian Departures From the U.S. During Each Two-Year Period: 1912-1965[a]



Source: Annual Report of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, Table 11 (3).

[a]Years ending June 30.

Figure 1

WHAT HAS BEEN WRITTEN ABOUT OVERSEAS AMERICANS

The flood of outward-bound Americans since World War II has not gone unnoticed, nor uncommented. Indeed, the spate of writings thus inspired is noteworthy. A large number of books, articles, pamphlets, and other documents on the subject have been produced in English; it seems likely that a corresponding quantity have been written in other languages as well.

Most of the several hundred titles scanned by this author have a journalistic flavor, but a goodly number are more scholarly works. The "literature" actually surveyed embraced reportorial, analytical, didactic, and human-interest writings and covered a broad range of topics and kinds of Americans. Some were glowingly cheerful, others darkly ominous, but one motif clearly runs through them all—concern with the quantity and quality of interaction that takes place between Americans and the peoples of other countries.

During the early post-war years Americans were frequently cast as "good guys" who brought the benefits of their culture to occupied countries.[1] With time, however, the scales seem to have tipped in the other direction so that now it is common to find references to the "ugly American" in the literature.[2] Scholarly treatments have usually taken a more even-handed approach, yet these, too, now seem to be more critical than approving in the overall impression they convey.[3]

The amount and kind of interaction in which Americans abroad engage with one another is frequently mentioned, but usually in counterpoint to the major theme. Writings that not only focus upon, but systematically and objectively investigate the latter subject are exceptionally rare. As a rule, the treatment is at once superficial and stereotyped, with Americans emerging as peculiarly "clannish" types who have a unique tendency to huddle together in tight little social circles in the midst of foreign societies.

Another characteristic of writings on overseas Americans is that they tend to concentrate upon individuals or, more commonly, upon "social categories" such as businessmen, diplomats, secretaries, military personnel, students, or expatriates. "Social units" are

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[1]For example, Robert Shaplen, "Democracy's Best Salesmen in Germany" (7).

[2]Paradoxically, the "ugly American" appellation originally referred to Homer Ferguson, the "good guy" of the book by William J. Lederer and Eugene Burdick, *The Ugly American*, (8). A few other titles are Robert Dean Dunham, *Alice in Blunderland*, (9); Peter Kalischer, "Madame Butterfly's Children," (10); D.H. Radler, "Our National Talent for Offending People," (11); P.C. Jain, "Speaking Out: You Yanks are Hypocrites," (12).

[3]Two classics in this genre are Harlan Cleveland, Gerard J. Mangone, and John Clarke Adams, *The Overseas Americans*, (13); and Cleveland and Mangone (eds.), *The Art of Overseasmanship*, (14).

only occasionally treated (most commonly the family).[1] "Communities" of Americans overseas are often mentioned in passing but rarely taken as an object of study per se. In light of what has been said, it is not surprising that the tone in which such communities are discussed is rarely favorable or even neutral. At best, they are rather patronizingly described as outposts of suburbia, U.S.A. At worst, one gets the impression that they are "golden ghettoes" inhabited by ultra-ethnocentric Yankees who crassly flaunt material wealth in the faces of contemptible (and contemptuous) natives.

Most writers, be they laymen or scholars, leave it to their readers to infer what is meant by the term "community" from the context in which it appears. The connotation may range from an aggregate of Americans in, say, Europe as a whole, to the members of an isolated outpost in, say, Asia.

It is clear that, despite all that has been written about U.S. citizens abroad, much room remains for studies that would clearly define "American communities overseas" and objectively examine their characteristics.

While designing a proposed study of overseas American *military* communities, we have developed a frame of reference which, with a little modification, could be adapted to the study of any American community abroad. The remainder of this paper is devoted to proposing (a) a theoretical setting for such studies, (b) a frame of reference for organizing empirically gathered information, (c) some techniques for collecting and analyzing the data. The discussion includes a number of uses, both applied and basic, to which the results could be put.

"EMIGRANT" AMERICANS: A THEORETICAL ORIENTATION FOR COMMUNITY STUDIES

The ways of classifying international migration are legion, but perhaps the most commonly used criterion is "intended length of stay." The United Nations has recommended that persons who mean to change their country of residence for one year or longer be called (in general) permanent "emigrants" or "immigrants," depending upon whether the country from which they depart or the one in which they arrive is used as a point of reference (16).

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[1]An excellent treatment is found in Ruth Hill Useem, "The American Family in India," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* (15). The remaining contents of that issue offer evidence for our preceding statement, including Kenneth Scott Latourette, "Missionaries Abroad," pp. 21-30; David Tarr, "The Military Abroad," pp. 31-43; and R. Waters Somerset, "The American Tourist," pp. 109-118.

Although most Americans who go abroad intend to remain only for a short while (about two months on the average), many plan much more extended stays. Between 1958 and 1965, passports were issued or renewed for about 1,252,000 U.S. citizens who said they expected to be out of the country for longer than a year.[1] At the time of the last decennial census, 1,339,600 military and civilian U.S. citizens were counted as residing overseas—which would mean that there were roughly eight Americans living abroad for every 1,000 at home.[2]

Thus, many Americans in foreign lands would qualify as "emigrants" or "immigrants" by the U.N. definition. However, these terms have colloquial connotations which must cause them to fall strangely on Americans ears when applied to U.S. citizens residing overseas. Consideration of whether such Americans have social attributes or reasons for migrating which make them unique in the annals of international population movements lies outside the scope of this discussion. The topic is introduced simply to point out that these modern American "emigrants" have at least one important *behavioral* characteristic in common with emigrants of other countries and times—the tendency to cluster in cultural enclaves. It is suggested that this characteristic be used as a theoretical orientation for studies such as we propose.

Cultural Enclaves: Havens From Culture Shock

Historically, whenever a fairly large number of persons from one country take up residence in another, they have tended to cluster in "cultural enclaves." The multitude of such enclaves which have appeared in the United States are ample witness to this tendency. If one looks to other parts of the Americas for examples, the *colonias* of Germans in Chile, Arabs in Peru, Japanese in Brazil, Spaniards in Venezuela, and English in Argentina are but a few of those that could be cited. A moment's thought should produce further examples from other parts of the world.

Anthropologists, demographers, historians, sociologists, and others have been long intrigued by this phenomenon and much has been written about it (e.g., 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, and 24). For present purposes, the most important conclusion that can be drawn from their findings is that one of the functions of a cultural enclave is to shelter its members from culture shock.

In the course of growing up, all humans acquire a host of cues for use in orienting themselves to myriad social situations. The most obvious of these cues is the spoken word. More subtle (but no less important) are such things as the countless vocal inflections, facial expressions, postures, movements, and other mannerisms with which an individual is bombarded in the course of an average day. However, a

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[1]Compiled from the 1959-1966 issues of *Summary of Passport Statistics* (6).

[2]Compiled and computed from U.S. Bureau of the Census (4), *Selected Area Reports. Americans Overseas*, Final Report PC (3)-1C, 1964.

cue learned in one country (or culture) may have no meaning at all in another. At best its meaning will be slightly changed and frequently the difference is truly radical. Thus, a stranger in a strange land (no matter how similar to his native one) will always find that some of the guides to social intercourse which served him so well at home are either not available in his new cultural environment or merely serve to lead him astray. As a result he will become somewhat disoriented and suffer from a more or less severe state of the anxiety which anthropologists have labeled "culture shock."

Persons suffering from this malady yearn to get back into a social setting where they are "at home," and this inclination is an important factor in drawing together people from the same country who take up residence in the same foreign place. Whether consciously or unconsciously, they wish to create a cultural environment in which they are at ease. Americans are no different from any other nationality in this respect and it explains (to an unknown but surely important degree) the fact that wherever a sizable number of U.S. citizens are living abroad, there too can be found an American "cultural enclave."

A Crude Typology of Cultural Enclaves

For our purpose, all cultural enclaves could be sorted into two broad categories. The first would contain enclaves that had emerged "naturally." That is to say, their members had assembled more or less spontaneously and, on a purely voluntary basis, had begun to cooperate in establishing a social unit based upon cultural patterns drawn from their country of origin. Most of the cultural enclaves appearing in the United States have been of this kind.[1] The second category would contain cultural enclaves whose establishment was more artificial, in the sense that a certain amount of planning preceded their development. Enclaves of this kind may have been more common in other parts of the Americas than in the United States.[2]

If this writer were to undertake the development of a finished taxonomy of cultural enclaves, he would want to use the above-mentioned categories somewhere along the way. He would also want to use categories derived from the nativity of the enclaves' members. Although much finer distinctions are possible, for present purposes it is enough to work with a rough dichotomy whose halves might be labeled "Immigrant" and "Ethnic" communities. The first would contain cultural enclaves in which foreign-born persons predominate and the second would contain cultural enclaves whose members were mostly native-born. From the nature of our criterion it can be seen that a given enclave could shift from one category to the other with the passage of time. The most common changes would undoubtedly be from immigrant to ethnic community (and then, perhaps, to "extinction" via

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[1]A classic discussion of some of these is to be found in Floyd W. Warner and Leo Srole, *The Social Systems of American Ethnic Groups* (25).

[2]Among a number of studies dealing with Latin-American ethnic communities of this kind; e.g., Joseph Winfield Fitz, *Immigrant Group Settlements in Paraguay* (26).

complete absorption by the host culture). On the other hand, an ethnic community that received a large infusion of persons from the "mother country" might suddenly shift back to immigrant community status.

By using these criteria, we have sketched a crude schema of cultural enclaves, Figure 2. As a corollary of studies such as we propose, this rough beginning might be refined so as to place immigrant and ethnic communities as points on a continuum at one extreme of which stands "total assimilation."

A Crude Typology of Cultural Enclaves

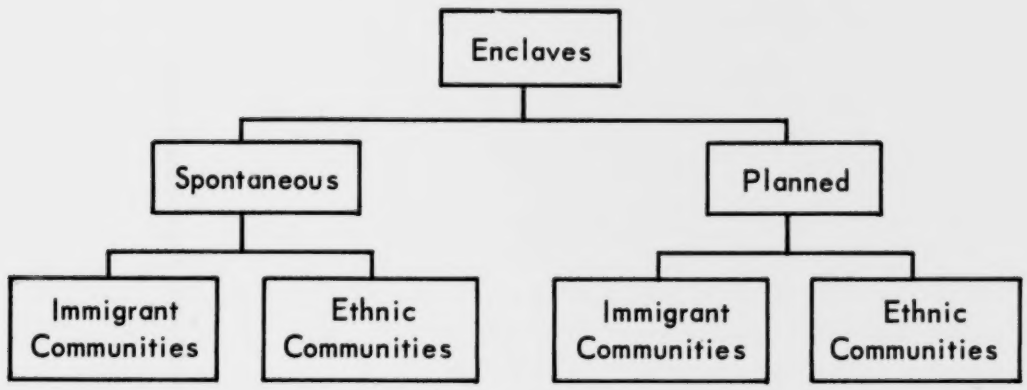

Figure 2

How American Enclaves Fit Into the Schema

It is evident that there are a great many U.S. cultural enclaves in foreign lands. If these were to be sorted into the categories given in Figure 2, it is certain that those headed "Spontaneous" and "Planned" would both contain rather large frequencies.

Although we are not prepared to guess at the relative number of each kind of enclave, there are other things that can be safely said. First, cultural enclaves made up mostly of American business or professional people (and their families) are, as a rule, of the "Spontaneous" kind. Cases in point are scattered all over the globe, but they are perhaps especially in evidence in Latin America where almost every capital city has its *colonia* of *Northeamericanos*. In those places where American residents are mainly members of the armed forces and their dependents, the American community has usually had more artificial origins. Cultural enclaves of this kind would probably make up the majority of those classified under the heading "Planned," although this rubric would also subsume the deliberately created "company towns" or "compounds" set up by U.S. mining, agricultural, or construction firms for overseas employees. Planned cultural enclaves of either a military or civilian nature are scattered all over the globe, but the first are concentrated in Europe and Asia while the second can most frequently be observed in the developing nations of Asia, Africa, or Latin America.

The numerical distribution of American enclaves at the next level of categorization (i.e., Immigrant vs. Ethnic communities) is more easily guessed. Since roughly 85% of all U.S. citizens living abroad in 1960 had been born in this country, it seems likely that the great

majority of the cultural enclaves which they have formed would fall into our "Immigrant Communities" category.[1] Furthermore, the mobility of Americans abroad is very high, so those who *are* born in a given cultural enclave are unlikely to be reared there, and even less likely to remain there as adults.

A CONCEPTUAL MODEL FOR STUDYING OVERSEAS AMERICAN COMMUNITIES

"Community" (as a generic concept) is one of the social groups most frequently studied by sociologists. One can quickly compile a bibliography of hundreds of books, monographs, and articles with the word community in their titles. A 1959 survey showed that 326 members (9%) of the American Sociological Association considered "community" to be one of the fields in which they were especially qualified to teach or do research. As a "field of competence" it was the 11th most frequently chosen out of 39 (27).

In consequence, there is a plethora of models one could take as a baseline for setting up a frame of reference within which to study the overseas American variety of community. We have chosen a recent book by George Hillery, Jr. as our starting point (28). Both because Hillery has drawn upon the work of many other investigators in establishing his approach, and because we too have culled ideas from still other authors, the resulting frame of reference should seem somewhat familiar to most persons who have studied the subject.

The principal elements in our frame of reference are given in Figure 3. In the two largest categories, we refer to space, people, interaction, and attitudes as "dimensions" because we conceive of them as properties which may be discovered, delineated, mapped, and combined in ways that will permit us to (1) carve a community out of its larger social setting and (2) show important features of its internal structure. "Social institutions" refer to fundamental requirements that must be met if the community is to exist as a full-fledged social entity.

Space

Ideally, social groups should be defined in terms of purely social phenomena. Nevertheless, physical space is frequently useful for identifying group boundaries. In some cases, researchers predicate the very existence of a group on the condition that most of the interaction among its members takes place within a specific geographical area. Such groups are often called "locality groups" and the community is generally considered to be one of them.

Regardless of the merit (from a theoretical standpoint) of using physical space as a criterion of community, specification of the geographical limits within which members of the group tend to interact greatly facilitates description and analysis. For the purpose of a very general or "impressionistic" treatment, it may be enough simply

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[1]This estimate is derived from data given by the Census Bureau in *Selected Area Reports. Americans Overseas*, Final Report, PC (3)-1C, Table B and Figure 2 (4).

The Frame of Reference in Outline Form

Dimensions of the Community

I. Space
   A. Boundaries
   B. Patterns
      1. Functional areas
         a. Residential
         b. Work
         c. Service
   C. Integration

II. People
   A. Number and geographic distribution of the population
   B. Biological characteristics
      1. Age
      2. Sex
      3. Race
   C. Social characteristics
      1. Marital status
      2. Occupational status
      3. Educational level
      4. Religious composition
   D. Demographic processes
      1. Fertility
      2. Mortality
      3. Migration
   E. Growth of Population

III. Interaction
   A. Social relationships
      1. Direct (individuals)
      2. Indirect (individuals and groups)
   B. Social participation
      1. Intra-community
      2. Extra-community

IV. Attitudes
   A. Ethnocentrism
   B. Community awareness
   C. Solidarity
   D. Community satisfaction
      1. Space
      2. People
      3. Interaction
      4. Attitudes
      5. Social institutions

Social Institutions of the Community

I. Familial
II. Educational
III. Recreational
IV. Health
V. Welfare
VI. Socialization
VII. Religious
VIII. Economic

Figure 3

to suggest the existence of such boundaries, as when one speaks of "the American community in Bangkok." More systematic analyses require that the delineation (and justification) of the geographical base of a community be spelled out with greater precision.

In the case of some planned communities this would be easy to do. For example, when homes, schools, recreational facilities, and work places are clustered together in a company compound or military reservation, it can safely be assumed that most of the interaction among community members occurs within these limits.

A somewhat more complex situation arises when the homes of at least some community members are located outside the "community nucleus" although frequent use is made of facilities within it. An analogy would be the "rurban" community defined by Galpin (29); it is suggested that an adaptation of his technique could be employed for delineating the physical boundaries of spatially analogous communities overseas. That is to say, the residences could simply be pinpointed on a map with a line drawn around them and the community nucleus in order to show the physical area occupied by the community.

In purely spontaneous overseas American communities as well as planned ones that have no clearly defined nucleus, the situation becomes even more complicated. Analogies are to be found in the literature on urban communities where, for some purposes, a metropolitan community may be said to include the total population and the area it occupies. For other purposes, however, one or more smaller communities are often defined as existing within the larger one. Sometimes this is accomplished by carving out a single unified area and treating all of its inhabitants as community members (30). On the other hand, a single unified area is sometimes used to designate "community space," although only selected persons and families are identified as community members (31). In still other cases, the community space is made up of several noncontiguous areas in which the homes (of persons considered to be community members) tend to cluster, although not necessarily "side by side." A good example of this last approach (and the only study with which we are familiar where the geographical base of an American enclave is carefully defined) is Davis' description of "The American Colony in Mexico City."[1]

The members of culutral enclaves tend to establish their own formal organizations for meeting certain basic needs, principally religious, educational, and recreational. When these are housed in easily identifiable facilities, their locations can also be used as indicators of the area where most community interaction occurs. Furthermore, the occupational characteristics of most Americans abroad make it likely that clusters of them will often spend their workday in the same offices or buildings. This means that the location of such work places may also be used in mapping the geographical base of the community.

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[1]The author was careful to avoid using the term "community;" however, by our definition, the phenomenon which she studied could be classified as such. (32).

Finally, the tendency for persons with similar cultural backgrounds to patronize certain restaurants, bars, stores, and so forth, suggests that these too could be identified and employed as indicators of the spatial dimension.

Spatial Patterning. Researchers often divide the overall geographical base of a community into smaller segments. Whether these be called subcommunities, neighborhoods, hamlets, zones, sectors, nuclei, tributary areas, natural areas, local communities (or what have you) depends upon the theoretical orientation of the investigator, the objectives of his study, and the nature (e.g., rural or urban) of the larger locality group in question.

For present purposes, overseas American communities could be thought of as having three functional areas: a residential area, a work area, and a service area. How each of these is defined has already been suggested in the discussion of community boundaries. It is relevant, however, to point out that these functional areas would not necessarily be either mutually exclusive or contiguous. They might overlap or be clearly separated. Furthermore, it is possible that one or all of them (especially the residential area) could best be seen as divided into neighborhoods. These conditions provide a large potential for diversity so, although the spatial patterning of all overseas American communities could be described along the same dimensions (and it seems likely that certain basic configurations would emerge), it also seems likely that a good deal of variation would be found from community to community.

Spatial Integration. If one were to mark out the spatial components of an overseas American community on a map, several parts might appear to be physically unrelated. For example, one residential neighborhood might be located in a certain part of the city and another in a different part and still another in a third section of the city. The rationale for considering all three neighborhoods to be integrated into a single "residential area" of the community rests primarily upon the assumption that residents of each neighborhood engage in social activities with residents of the others and that some of this interaction occurs in homes located in all three neighborhoods. Thus, while social interaction may be thought of as the element that draws the various sublocalities together, some means must exist by which the community members move from place to place. If these "transportation routes" were drawn on the map, they would provide a network that physically integrated the various territorial subareas of the community.

People

On a purely theoretical level, it is often convenient to discuss communities as if they were abstract entities consisting of interaction among norms, roles, positions, and groups instead of interaction among real people. To some extent this view is useful for the purposes of empirical research as well. It allows the researcher to conceive of a single, ongoing community even though specific individuals and families may come and go. This is perhaps especially important where overseas American military communities are concerned, because of the exceptional

mobility of their members. If a community is defined in terms of a collection of specific persons, it could be argued that a new and different community arises with each change in population. Nevertheless, empirical studies of community require that the membership be embodied in a collection of actual persons at a given point in time.

Demographers have developed a fairly standard approach to describing the size and composition of a given population. Although this basic frame of reference may vary somewhat from one researcher to another, and with the circumstances of the research, it will usually include at least those elements shown under the heading of "People" in our conceptual scheme. The difficulty of obtaining such data would probably vary with the demographic composition. For example, in communities where the largest occupational category was "Member of the Armed Forces" it seems likely that the pertinent information would be largely on record, while in places where there were mostly businessmen a researcher might need to rely, primarily, on a survey approach. This, in turn, suggests one of the ways in which the data could be put to use; to characterize a community as primarily military, government (or diplomatic), business, or in some other way (e.g., student).

Social Interaction (Social Relationships, Social Participation)

Nearly all commentators agree that social interaction is a fundamental characteristic of human communities. However, as with the concept of community itself, it is used in different ways by different writers. In our usage, "social interaction" may be divided into two categories, social relationships and social participation. The first can be operationally defined in terms of who interacts with whom and the second in terms of what kinds of interaction the "actors" engage in and how frequently they do so.

It is expected that a parasociometric technique could be employed to gather information on social interaction which would help a researcher to map a network of interpersonal relationships among community members. The quantity and quality of interaction could be looked at in terms of their visits to one another's homes, attendance at various social functions, joint shopping trips, and so forth.

Attitudes

Although we have chosen to use the more customary word "attitudes," Hillery's terms "sentiments" might actually be more expressive of our meaning, which is "how the members of an overseas American community feel about it and its environment (physical, social, and cultural)." Like Hillery, we include enthnocentrism as well as community awareness and solidarity in our concept. To these we add "satisfaction with" or "adaptation to" the community. As a means of learning about satisfaction or adaptation we would plan to query our respondents for their opinions about each of the elements in our community model (including attitudes themselves).

The foregoing suggests that the attitudinal dimension would often be treated as a dependent variable that can be explained in terms of the other elements in our frame of reference. This is true. However, by overemphasizing the point, it would be easy to obscure another assumption that is basic to our conceptual framework; that is, a community is a social system in which the various elements exercise a reciprocal influence on one another. From this it follows that a fuller understanding can be obtained of the structure and functioning of the community if the analysis includes attention to attitudes as an independent, as well as a dependent, variable. We mention this because of its bearing on the selection and wording of items for collecting attitudinal data. For example, by merely asking:

> Do you think your child has to travel too far in order to get to school and back?

one would be forced to use where the respondent lives (i.e., space) as the independent variable, and satisfaction with arrangements for his child's schooling (i.e., educational institutions), as the dependent variable. If instead, we began by asking:

> Did the location of the school influence your choice of a residence?

we would be in a better position to treat attitudes toward educational arrangements as an independent variable in order to see whether it affected the spatial dimension of the community.

The justification for referring to attitudes as a "dimension" of community is that, theoretically, it should be possible to discern certain feelings community members share that set them off from the surrounding society. Furthermore, in theory, a community should be divisible into segments based on certain attitudes (or intensity of attitudes) as well. Thus, if one's instruments are refined enough, it should be possible to "bound" and "map" the community on an attitudinal level. In practice, a researcher's instruments would usually be too crude to permit much precision in this regard. We expect that of the four dimensions (space, people, interaction, attitudes), that composed of attitudes would be the least sharply delineated. Nevertheless, we think it possible to sort respondents into categories according to similarity of opinions and relate these categories to other community characteristics.

Social Institutions

As is true with many of the terms employed so far in this discussion, "social institutions" has been used in somewhat different ways by different authors. Sometimes the concept involves commonly agreed upon practices and procedures for dealing with the basic needs of a society, sometimes it refers to organizations or associations created to deal with such needs, and sometimes it embraces both meanings. We have taken the latter approach. Thus, in a military community, the practice of assigning sponsors to new arrivals could be considered one institution aimed at meeting the need which all groups have for socializing new members. By the same token, however, the faculty and staff of an

American school would also qualify as an institution falling under the larger heading of Educational Institutions.

Whether or not the development of a cultural enclave is accompanied by the formal establishment of primary and/or secondary schools depends on numerous factors such as the educational level of the migrants and the host society, educational policies in the country of destination, and so forth. However, that the tendency exists is shown clearly by the French, British, German, American, and other schools that abound in Latin America. We are sure that examples involving other nationalities could be cited from other parts of the world. It is not surprising, therefore, that the numerical growth of American enclaves overseas has been paralleled by a growth in the number of "American-type" schools abroad.

So broadly defined a category leaves room for a good deal of variety among the units and subunits which it subsumes. We think it likely, however, that most lists of basic institutions would include those given in our outline. For our purposes, the most important would be "Familial Institutions" because (like Hillery, 28), we consider families to be the basic units of communal organizations.[1] Thus, other institutions in a community may be considered to be oriented primarily toward the needs of families.

INTEGRATING THE FRAME OF REFERENCE

Even a very general synthesis of findings from the scores of community studies in the literature is a difficult task—a highly detailed one is impossible. This results in part from the variety of conceptual frameworks which have been employed, and in part from differences in emphasis which give rise to differing analytical procedures. We propose that studies of overseas American communities follow a standard pattern in analyzing and presenting certain basic information in order to ensure comparability, at one level at least. Having provided a basic "blueprint" of the community, the researcher could, of course, follow with *ad hoc* analyses geared to his individual objectives.

Collecting and Analyzing the Data

The first major step in an analysis would be to describe each dimension of the community separately. Next, the dimensions would be integrated to provide a unified picture of the community's structural aspects. At this point, the first step would be to "superimpose" the demographic dimension upon a map of the spatial dimension. Thus, the demographic composition of the residential area (or areas) would be shown; the number and characteristics of employed persons could be given in relation to the various work places; and finally, some basic

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[1]Indeed, our research design for military communities would exclude the bulk of "unaccompanied personnel" in any given location, and outposts where no dependents were present would not even be considered communities (by *our* definition).

information could be given about the service area such as enrollment in the schools, utilization of shopping facilities, average attendance at churches, club membership, and so forth.

The second step would be to "superimpose" a network of social relationships upon the combined spatial and people dimensions of the residential area. In other words, a sociogram could be drawn that would take into account the residence and demographic characteristics of the community members.[1] Finally, if patterned differences in social participation and/or attitudes were found which related to the combined spatial demographic and sociometric structure of the community, these could be indicated as well, either as features of the sociogram or in tabular form.

Pertinent data on the social institutional aspect of the overseas American communities are likely to be less susceptible to quantification and, therefore, standardization. However, each study might at least contain a list of the institutions which seem to play the strongest role in binding local Americans into a "community of interests." A summary description of these institutions could then be combined with data about the space, people, interactional, and attitudinal aspects of the community in order to learn whether various sectors identified by the latter criteria could also be distinguished in terms of basic needs and ways of satisfying them.

The Environing Society

Although studies such as we propose would take the structure and functioning of overseas American social systems as their primary focus, we are not suggesting that they be studied as closed systems, independent of the society that surrounds them. Quite the contrary, any analysis of an overseas American community would be vitiated without some consideration of the external influences which affect and are affected by its internal aspects. The extent to which this subject could be handled would vary with regard to the conditions of the research (e.g., funding, political climate). Yet there are some kinds of standard information which could generally be gathered from available written or numerical materials. Thus, apart from a general geographic and ethnographic description of the community's surroundings, it should usually be possible to compare at least its spatial and demographic dimensions with their local counterparts; that is, how the functional areas of the community relate to the residential, work, and service areas of the larger locality group; how the demographic composition of the community compares with that of the surrounding society.

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[1] In relation to the total number of community studies extant, those which employ sociometric or parasociometric techniques are probably somewhat rare. On the other hand, Charles P. Loomis, one of the foremost students of rural social systems, makes frequent use of them. For an example of a sociogram based on physical space, see his "Informal Groupings in a Spanish-American Village" (33).

The parasociometric technique that we have devised for mapping social relationships within the community is based upon a request that the subject make a list of 35 persons with whom he is personally acquainted "who currently live in [e.g., Bangkok] and whose names come quickly to mind." He is asked not to limit himself to either business or "social" acquaintances or to persons of any particular nationality. Rather, he is simply to write down the first 35 names he thinks of (excluding members of his immediate family). Data thus generated would provide at least some insight into interaction occurring between the American community and the environing society. Finally, a number of the items included in our instrument for collecting data on social participation and attitudes could also be brought to bear on this topic.

With regard to social institutions, a description of the extent to which "host country" practices and associations are relied upon for serving the basic needs of the American community could also provide a measure of the extent to which the two societies are integrated.

SUMMARY AND IMPLICATIONS

This country's increased role in international affairs has been accompanied by an increase in the number of its citizens who travel abroad or take up residence there. Much has been written about these overseas Americans, especially with regard to the quantity and quality of their relations with host nationals. Much has also been written about their interaction with one another, but usually from the standpoint of its effect on "people-to-people" contacts around the world. Rarely has the subject been treated as an object of study in its own right.

Furthermore, most discussions deal with "social categories" rather than "social units" such as "the community." When overseas American communities *are* mentioned, the concept is hardly ever defined and is frequently placed in the context of an impressionistic and stereotyped treatment which is further biased by the spoken or unspoken assumption that Americans are peculiarly ethnocentric. That assumption ignores the fact that whenever a fairly large number of persons from one country take up residence in another, they tend to cluster into enclaves which provide "havens from culture shock." Such enclaves might be divided into spontaneous and planned types and then further subdivided into ethnic and immigrant communities, depending upon the nativity of a majority of the community members.

There are numerous examples of both spontaneous and planned American enclaves abroad, but the majority of both would fall into the "immigrant community" subcategory.

It is suggested that systematic, objective, and empirical descriptions of these communities would make a valuable contribution to the study of migration, community, and acculturation. To that end, a frame of reference is proposed which has been derived from past studies of community both as a generic concept and as a subcultural category.

Although such studies would focus upon the internal structure and functioning of overseas American communities, these could not be treated as existing in a vacuum. A researcher would also have to consider influences originating in the environing socio-cultural situation. Thus, data could be generated which would permit the testing of hypotheses regarding the relationship between community characteristics and cross-cultural interaction as well as the attitudes that Americans and the host population hold toward one another.

In the latter connection, there are several assumptions frequently encountered in the literature that this writer would like to see treated as hypotheses and "tested" in the course of field studies:

One assumption is that an inverse relationship exists between the amount of interaction in which Americans engage with their fellow Americans and the amount of their interaction with host nationals. If one assumes that the two kinds of interaction are mutually exclusive, an inverse relationship would, of course, be forced. However, might it not be that much (or even most) of the interaction which Americans have with host nationals is in the company of fellow Americans? That is to say, for example, at social functions attended by other Americans? If so, might it not be that the more one is invited to such functions the higher his rate of interaction with both Americans and host nationals?

This kind of social participation might be directly related to the individual's social status in the community. Thus a status factor might also be taken into consideration when looking for a quantitative relationship between American-American and American-host national interaction.

Another assumption that seems to be made frequently is that Americans living on the economy rather than in government or company housing are impelled to interact with host nationals to a greater extent. We strongly suspect that the reverse is true (i.e., that Americans who are impelled to interact with host nationals are most likely to choose living on the economy); however, it does not follow that cultural barriers necessarily drop when people are placed in proximity—as witness the formation of cultural enclaves in the first place.

Finally, behind all the criticism of the "separatist" tendencies of Americans abroad, lies the assumption that the more people interact with one another, the better friends they will become. One is reminded of the anecdote about the American woman who, asked if she had ever shopped on the Ginza, replied, "I tried it once, but it was too crowded with Japanese." What would be the outcome of forcing such a personality into close, face-to-face contact with a wide range of Japanese?

In conclusion, the foregoing suggests that apart from their contributions to scholarly fields, studies of overseas American communities might also have practical value as sources of data for persons in a position to influence their structure and functioning.

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13. ABSTRACT

Increased United States involvement in world affairs has been accompanied by an increase in the number of Americans living abroad in numerous American enclaves. Most of the commentary on such "overseas American communities" is impressionistic, superficial, and stereotyped, and tends to foster the notion that Americans are peculiarly ethnocentric. Such an assumption ignores the fact that whenever a fairly large number of persons from one country reside abroad, they tend to cluster into enclaves that provide havens from "culture shock." It is suggested that systematic, objective, and empirical descriptions of such communities could make a valuable contribution to the study of migration, acculturation, and communities in general. To that end, a frame of reference derived from past studies is proposed, both as a generic concept and a sub-cultural category. Data would be generated that would permit an analysis of the relationship between community characteristics and cross-cultural interaction and attitudes.

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